1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [137] T [191] T 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

137
227

PL. XXIX

FISH-WEIR ON COEN RIVER

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 97]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

●137
481

SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI METHOD OF CROSSING A STREAM

facing p. 99

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

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[1] *Guilielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus verreauxii.*

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued
[Text continues top of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 299, 317.

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
434 sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
273 chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
231 (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz poquísimo. . . ."

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account
than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás,
Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1]
In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe
and the animals are used only when the priest
pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the
required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle
in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church
are the property of three inhabitants who sell
them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death
feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Reneahmia exaltata* (Anbl.)
●137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red
flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/2 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

[P. 14 (A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bri br1
Cabecar

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
● 137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[2] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
822 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 [137] [438] **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, however, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with 491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are [192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] [172] [462] One of the most important fibers comes from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[438] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
[411] most important ones are for fastening on the
[354] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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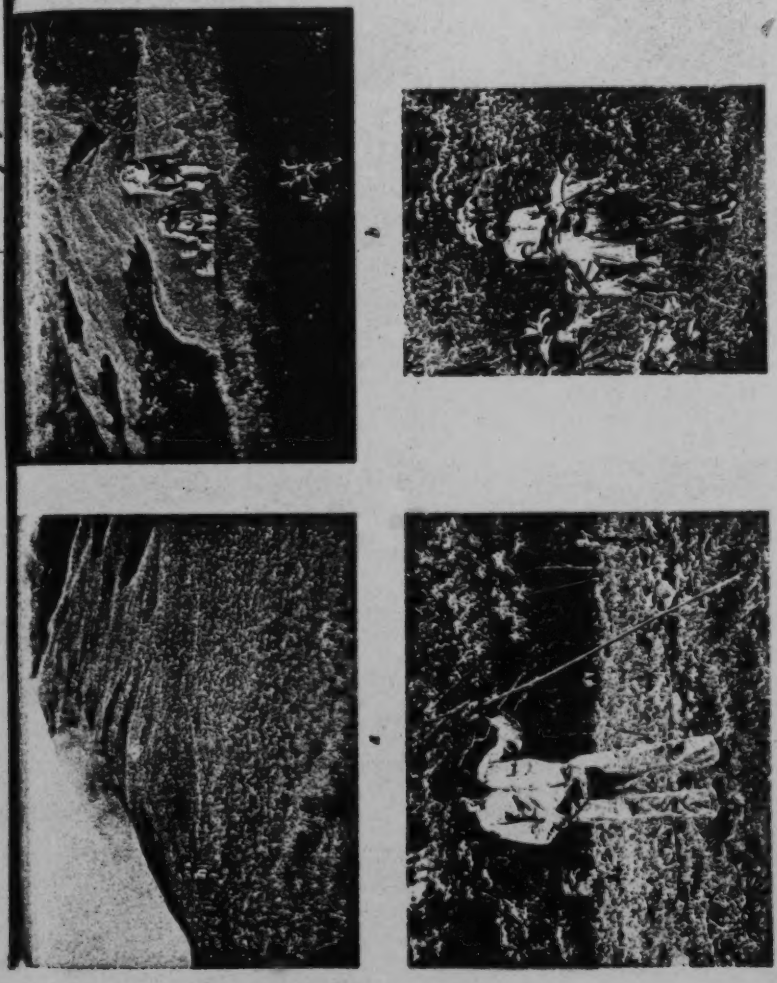

a-b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]